



POLITICAL RESEARCH: ORGANIZATION AND DESIGN

PROD

IN THE NEWS		2
The Problems of Contemporary Political Science	Avery Leiserson	3
The University and Contract Research	Academic Freedom Committee, ACLU	7
The Quantitative Content Analysis of Judicial Opinions	Fred Kort	11
Congressional Predictions of Judicial Behavior	S. Sydney Ulmer	15
Research, Participation, and the Teaching of Politics	Donald R. Mathews	18
The Institute for Research in Social Science	Carleton Scofield	21
The University of Michigan Degree Program in Political Behavior	Warren E. Miller	23
Annotated BIBLIOGRAPHY on Policy Research and Political Behavior		25
The SPSSI: An Action Perspective	Kenneth B. Clark	29
Two Critical Comments:		
On Deutsch's Indices of Community	Dankwort A. Rustow	31
On Freidel's "Research on Roosevelt"	R. J. Tresolini	32
EDITORIAL: A Pluralist Approach to Research Support		35

IN THE NEWS. FOUNDATIONS: Amer. Assoc. of Fund-Raising Counsel forecasts increase in bequests to foundations will add c. \$1 billion to resources for future grants. * * * Ford F. has extended its overseas development program to Latin America & the Caribbean, making first grants of \$747M. Countries are assisted, at their request, in developing educational, research institutions & programs. Grants incl. \$140M to Univ. College of the West Indies (Jamaica) for its *Inst. of Soc. & Econ. Research* to expand research on econ. problems; \$75M to U. of Puerto Rico for cooperative research on education & the rural Caribbean community by its *Inst. of Caribbean Studies*. Part of \$300M to Natl. Council of Sci. & Tech. Investigations (Argentina) will expand its activities in the social sciences. * * * Ford also granted \$3.5 million to Stanford for training business administration teachers for Asia, Africa, Latin America; \$3 million to *School of Advanced Intl. Studies*, Johns Hopkins U.; \$135M to *Assoc. for Asian Studies*; \$125M to *Amer. Council of Learned Societies*; \$100M to *World Brotherhood, Inc.*, for program for reduction of world tension; \$100M to Harvard, \$67.5M to Columbia for faculty exchange with Soviet Union; \$24.4M to Duke for research concerning sovereignty. * * * Samuel Newhouse F. is making initial gift of \$2 million to establish communications arts center at Syracuse U. * * * Resources for the Future, financed by Ford F., has completed 5 yrs. of research & education on natural resources development & conservation, summarized in '59 annual report. Factual & historical studies of econ., govt., business, legal problems of natural resources have been emphasized; in the next 5 yrs. there will be more direct study of policy issues, hopefully to help formulate national resource policy. * * * Fund for Adult Education will terminate after expending present resources of \$6 million in next 12-18 mths.; Education Div. of Ford F. will carry on.

PROGRAMS AND PUBLICATIONS: In summer, '59, the *Indiana Citizenship Clearing House* had L. J. Kramer (Hanover Col.) and K. O'Lessker (Wabash Col.) study Indiana politics, prepare papers that have been widely used as source materials in State conferences. * * * PROD calls attention to *Metropolitan Area Problems: News & Digest*, bi-monthly publication of *Conf. on Metro. Area Problems* (684 Park Ave., NYC 21). Latest issue (II, #6) has supplement giving summary digest of general & special metropolitan surveys in progress or completed

continued on p. 17

PROD is an informal, independent Journal. It circulates information and ideas about research that might advance man's knowledge of public policy and political behavior. **PROD** seeks to

- Criticize policy research.
- Put new theories before the field.
- Ease communications among scholars.
- Make political theory more operational.
- Improve social research design and organization.
- Promote consensus on the subjects and priorities of study.
- Accommodate the tools of other disciplines to the science of policy.
- Translate and circulate the best of political science and policy research from overseas.

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION OFFICES: **PROD**, Post Office Box 294, Princeton, New Jersey. Managing Editor: Alfred de Grazia. Assistant to the Editor: Ted R. Gurr. Business and Promotions: Erika B. K. Gurr.

PROD is published ten times a year (September through June) by the Institute of Political Science of Princeton, New Jersey, 306 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey. Every second issue consists of articles translated from languages other than English. All rights to contents of **PROD** are reserved to **PROD's** authors and/or **PROD**. For permission to use any of **PROD's** contents, apply to specific authors or to **PROD**.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: Individual: \$4.00 a year. Institutional: \$5.50 a year. Commercial: \$13.00 a year. Address: Post Office Box 294, Princeton, New Jersey. Please Renew Subscriptions Promptly.

The Problems of Contemporary Political Science

Political scientists include philosophers of the good life, institutionalists, and behaviorists. The "policy science" approach is encroaching on the "value-free" approach but is not assured of success. The classic and contemporary formulations of the major problems of political science are presented in tabular form.

"THE BASIC EMPHASIS OF THE POLICY APPROACH IS UPON THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MAN IN SOCIETY, RATHER THAN UPON THE TOPICAL ISSUES OF THE MOMENT."

—HAROLD D. LASSWELL

Contemporary American political science does not lack latter-day variations on the theme of the philosopher-king. In differing accents, four presidential addresses (James K. Pollock, Peter H. Odegard, Pendleton Herring, Harold D. Lasswell) have dealt with it since 1950. Professional political scientists have not been totally preoccupied with trivia, unconcerned with the common good, devoid of commitment to the acquisition of competence and responsibility for dealing with some fundamental human problems afflicting their society and civilization. How successful, how prominent, how competent and influential they have been are debatable questions; their motives with respect to interest, involvement, and devotion to the public weal are not.

Politics, like religion, is radically ambiguous with respect to the meanings that its students and practitioners attribute to it, and also with respect to the end or ends they pursue through it. Some political scientists are really philosophers who seek the good life and good society through the intellectual analysis and construction of philosophical systems, the value premises of which constitute the criteria for judging (determining) the institutional forms whereby political authority is organized and distributed. Searching and critical philosophical analysis of the several fundamen-

tal human attitudes toward political authority, elaboration of their logical implications, and study of their spatial-temporal consequences still retain a central position in academic training and scholarship; certainly their designation as the "classical" tradition is not seriously challenged. Both the weaknesses and strengths of this tradition lie in its normative orientation toward the ends of man to be achieved through politically-organized society.

Members of a second major group of political scientists, most of whom look upon political theorists either as historians of thought, textual exegetists, secular preachers, or ideologues, may be termed *institutionalists*.¹ Their intellectual origins are legion, but their common attribute is a skeptical attitude toward the connection between ideals, ideologies, and value systems and the origins, evolution, and effects of operating political structures and practices. Semantically, institutionalists are likely to be "realists" rather than "idealists"; they distinguish sharply between manifest (professed) aims and effective (actual, latent) functions of political groups, organizations, and institutions. Methodologically, institutionalists concentrate upon descriptive analysis of how political arrangements work, how they came to be that way, by whom they are controlled, or to whose benefit or harm they redound. Institutionalists are likely to be interested in the applied aspects of politics, in skills and techniques, and to be "problem" or "managerially" oriented. Their weaknesses stem from impatience with "theory" and a propensity to attribute a causal, independently-controlling

¹ Compare C. E. Merriam, *Political Power* (1934), Ch. VII, "The Survival of the Fittest," with F. Neumann, *The Democratic and the Authoritarian State* (1957), Ch. 1, "Attitudes Toward Political Power."

influence in politics to such entities as "forces," "institutions," "leadership," or events.

The third and final group of political scientists cited here is composed of the "behaviorists," so-called because they focus upon persons acting politically, *i.e.*, participating in a political or governmental process. Behaviorists seek empirically-derived principles and uniformities of individual and group decision-making; they consider values and institutions as variables of human behavior that are functionally correlated with other dependent, independent, and intervening variables in a complex, interlocking matrix.² In common with political sociologists and cultural anthropologists, the behaviorists strongly emphasize the importance of logical models in research design; quantification and objectivity in data collection and analysis; and rigorous standards of relevance in evaluating the internal relations between assumptions and hypotheses, data and evidence, interpretations and proof. The strengths of "behaviorism" lie in its methodological advances and its potential capacity for transforming traditional political categories into logically-expressed concepts that can be empirically analyzed. Its weaknesses lie in the "Young Turk" tendencies (1) to extravagant conceptualism, (2) to microscopic, distorted, and sometimes irrelevant formulation of problems, and (3) to accentuation of the communications barriers between the "scientific," the normative, and the conventional orientations and vocabularies.

The term "policy science" was proposed to encompass the observational standpoints of the three groups, and to redirect attention to the community of interests, not only among political scientists but between the several sciences

of man. Unfortunately, to the scientific school the juxtaposition of nouns presents a contradiction in terms, while to practical minds, conservative and liberal alike, it implies the moral commitment of scientific effort to action in support of particular goals, groups, causes, or parties.

There is no space here to debate the elementary problems in the sociology of knowledge; suffice it to say that the "ethical relativist, value-free conception" of social science is steadily retreating before growing conviction that the *vocation of science, properly understood, may contribute both to the personal values of the scientist and to the institutional processes* whereby politically-organized society educates and trains its citizens, recruits its leaders, redefines its goals, formulates and decides its choice of means, and puts these choices to operational test.³ The organization, quality, and direction of the contribution by scientific intelligence to the public policy-making process is itself problematic, contingent, and the proper object of observation, analysis, and appraisal. Perhaps the central postulate of modern political ("policy") science is that personal values determine those aspects of the power structure and decision-making processes in society that are selected for intensive, specialized attention and study. Similarly, one of the important political problems is the manner of organizing and channeling the results of awareness, study, and understanding so as to shape the perception, formulation, and choice by policy makers.⁴

During the 1950's, the "policy science" symbol was evidently unable to overcome terminological hostilities and the methodological preferences to which most political and social scientists seemed

² See H. Eulau, *et al.*, *Political Behavior* (1956).

³ See M. R. Cohen, *Preface to Logic* (1944), Chs. 7-8; J. Dewey, *The Logic of Inquiry* (1938), especially Chs. 6 and 24; M. C. Otto, *Science and the Moral Life* (1945); E. Cassirer, *An Essay on Man* (1944); R. Money-Kyrle, *Psychoanalysis and Politics* (1958); G. Myrdal, *Value in Social Theory* (P. Streeten, ed., 1959); and A. Brecht, *Political Theory* (1959).

⁴ Dael Wolfle, *Science and Public Policy* (1959); D. K. Price, *Government and Science* (1955); D. Lerner and H. Lasswell, eds., *The Policy Sciences* (1949); and H. N. Bunbury, *Governmental Planning Machinery* (1938).

comfortably attached. Perhaps the transition to the scientific method and outlook makes working cooperation impossible. The policy scientists are really in agreement with the traditionalists as to which general problems are important. Both agree that political scientists can contribute both to their study and resolution, but that the classical political problems need to be stated in more helpful ways than the traditional dichotomies of Speculative *vs.* Practical Reason, Liberty *vs.* Authority, Stability *vs.* Change, Monism *vs.* Pluralism, Centralization *vs.* Dispersion, Bigness *vs.* Littleness, and so forth.

The point is not original. The technological, economic, and communication revolutions of our times are often said to be irrelevant to ideologies—yet mythical thinking and “the wish to believe” are still with us. The scientific belief is that the problems of politics can be symbolically reformulated in ways that people can understand and in which they can find excitement, hope, and personal satisfaction in promoting the public good. Perhaps the first step to increased clarification and understanding is to state the fundamental issues of political science in more limited, intermediate terms. Some suggested restate-

PROBLEM	CLASSIC FORMULATIONS	CONTEMPORARY AND EMERGENT TRANSFORMATIONS
(1) Nature and Use of Social Intelligence	a) Rationality in Man and Society b) Political Virtue and Wisdom c) The Good Man and the Good Citizen	<i>Natural and Human Sources of Consensus and Cleavage in the Political Community: The Role of Symbolism and Ideology</i> a) Social structure and social consciousness. b) Personality formation and political type: attitudes toward citizenship and authority. c) Patterns of political activity and participation.
(2) Organization of Incentives and Distribution of Rewards	a) The Qualifications of Rulers b) Foundations of Obedience c) Legitimacy and Ruling Myths	<i>Education, Selection, and Responsibilities of Citizens, Representatives, and Leaders</i> a) Institutions of civic training and education. b) Personal character, skill, and mobility. c) Career and recruitment patterns of elites. d) Standards of content, taste, and control in the educational system and the mass media.
(3) Balance and Flexibility in Social Structure	a) Privilege <i>vs.</i> Equality b) Monism <i>vs.</i> Pluralism	<i>The Articulation and Aggregation of Political Interests: The Politics of Group Life</i> a) Symbolic and organizational factors in political loyalty and affiliation. b) Processes of cohesion and conflict; leadership selection and policy-formation in bureaucratized associations making authoritative decisions for members and non-members. c) Public policy patterns of adjusting inter-group claims and demands.

PROBLEM	CLASSIC FORMULATIONS	CONTEMPORARY AND EMERGENT TRANSFORMATIONS
(4) The Allocation and Coordination of Political Functions	a) The Forms of Government: Ideal and Corrupt	<i>The Constituent and Evolving Distribution of Political Authority</i> a) Relations of party and governmental leaders. b) Executive-legislative relations. c) Judicial limitations and controls over political and administrative decisions. d) Centralization-decentralization in the political and administrative systems.
(5) Role of Government in Society	a) The Proper Spheres of Morals and Politics b) The Agenda and Non-Agenda of Government c) Individualism vs. Collectivism	<i>The Relations of Organized Groups with Government: Modes of Associating Non-governmental Centers of Authority and Expertness with Governmental Agencies</i> a) Economic b) Professional c) Scientific and technological d) Educational and cultural
(6) Relations Between Civilian and Military Authorities	a) Force vs. Consent: Theories of the State b) Organization and Control of Violence	<i>Technology and the Growing Militarization of the Public Life</i> a) The experts and the politicians. b) Interpenetration of skill groups in the administration of order, justice, and national security. c) Relating processes of public information and communication to the control of military and foreign policy.
(7) The Unit of Political Community	a) The Bases of Political Membership and Alienation b) Problems of Population and Geographical Size c) Racial, Ethnic, and Nationality Foundations of the State d) Urbanism-Ruralism and Metropolitanism	<i>Systems, Responsibilities, and Costs of Intergovernmental Relations</i> a) Division and sharing of responsibilities between levels of government: imperialistic, federal, and commonwealth arrangements. b) Customary, traditional, expected patterns of interpersonal and cross-national conduct (commercial, cultural, diplomatic, military) as imperfectly codified in international law and organization. c) Alternative patterns of political action under differing assumptions or rules governing the relations between autonomous units: systems of international politics.

ments of seven significant issues are presented below; perhaps in them political scientists, students, and others may see how, through their acquisition of knowledge, competence, and involvement, they may contribute to the

achievement of the ultimate goal-values.

Avery Leiserson

Department of Political Science
Vanderbilt University

The University and Contract Research

PROD presents here the full text of a statement released on November 24, 1959, by the Academic Freedom Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union. Committee members chiefly responsible for the substance of the report are Julian Sturtevant (chemistry, Yale), Lyle Borst (physics, N. Y. U.), and Arthur Murphy, committee co-counsel. They outline the effects of contract research on the university, and ask, "Is it in the interest of society to permit the universities to lose a large measure of their authority in shaping the development of their own affairs?" The objective review of the situation for which they call falls well within the scope of the political researcher.

In the years since World War II there has been a striking increase in the extent of non-academic support of research activities in colleges and universities. Most of this support comes from the federal government, but not inconsiderable amounts derive from private foundations and industry. The National Science Foundation has estimated that federal obligations for scientific research and development at institutions of higher education or in laboratories managed by them amounted to \$440 million in the year ending June 30, 1958, and that perhaps as much as two-thirds of the expenditures for all research and development performed by colleges and universities currently comes from the federal government. In certain fields, such as physics and chemistry, contracts and grants from non-academic sources account for 90%, or even more, of the research budgets of individual departments.

Few would argue that large scale support for the scholarly activities of university and college faculties does not

serve the best interests of the nation and of mankind. Sponsored research has made tremendous contributions to American scholarship and higher education in many ways, quite apart from the obvious increase in the volume of research activity. It has made it possible for universities to maintain strong science faculties in the face of intense competition from outside agencies carrying on exciting work in newly-developed fields. It has supplied much of the modern strength in graduate education, not only in the form of financial support to graduate students, but also in providing for them adequate scope for research training and experience.

Our colleges and universities are irrevocably dependent on the support they have been receiving in the form of sponsorship of research, and indeed this support must continue to increase rapidly in the years ahead. However, it is evident that the explosive nature of the present increase in exerting a revolutionary influence on the structure and functions of our higher educational system,

and that the short term and long term effects of this influence are not receiving the careful study they merit. We are proceeding in a haphazard way, with parts of the academic community enjoying a newfound prosperity, giving but little attention to the far-reaching changes being, so to speak, forced on our universities. It must be clearly recognized that if outside financing of university research and graduate education, particularly in the natural sciences, continues to follow present patterns, it will inevitably lead to a very serious erosion of university control of university activities. We should face squarely the question as to whether we are prepared to break with the long-established tradition which entrusts to universities a large measure of autonomy in their proper functions of education and research—whether we are prepared to replace a significant fraction of this autonomy by a patchwork control exerted by a variety of bureaus with widely differing aims and interests. It seems evident that a rational decision in this matter, admittedly very difficult to arrive at now, will become increasingly difficult with the passage of time and the creation of new vested interests.

It may be asked why this problem is one of proper interest to a group which concerns itself with matters of academic freedom. The term "academic freedom" is frequently considered to refer to the rights of individual faculty members in their relations with university administrations and society as a whole. A very important facet of academic freedom, which has perhaps not been as frequently brought into public attention by the pressure of events, is the freedom of the university as a corporate body so to manage its own affairs that it maximizes

what it considers to be its important contributions to society. Brief reflection shows that any serious compromise of this broad aspect of academic freedom may well lead to significant impairment of the individual rights of faculty members, either as members of a university or as private citizens.

Various individuals and groups, speaking as isolated voices, have called attention to some of the problems introduced by the mushrooming non-university support of academic research and graduate education. It is the thesis of the present statement that an adequate answer to the broader problem of preserving university autonomy in the face of heavy subsidization from outside will lead to solutions of many of the more specific problems, and, indeed, will provide the only possible path to such solutions.

It appears worthwhile to point out here, without full documentation, a number of the results of government and private sponsorship which appear to us most effectively to emphasize the trend away from university autonomy which has occurred, all but unnoticed, in recent years. Most of these specific problems have been more adequately considered by others,¹ but they are included here in order to give a reasonably full picture.

It is obvious that the application of government security procedures in universities in which classified research is conducted on campus under contracts with federal agencies can lead to situations in conflict with the personal rights of faculty members, including even those who are not engaged in classified research, and can effectively limit the freedom of the university in applying its own proper criteria in the selection of its staff. The case against the ac-

¹ See, for example, the following: (a) "Government-University Relationships in Federally Sponsored Scientific Research and Development." National Science Foundation (NSF 58-10), April, 1958; (b) "Sponsored Research Policy of Colleges and Universities." Report of the Committee on Institutional Research Policy, American Council on Education, December, 1954; (c) "Some Dilemmas in Graduate Education." Report by John C. Weaver to the Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1958; (d) State of McGeorge Bundy of Harvard University before the Subcommittee on Reorganization of the U.S. Senate Committee on Government Operations, March 15, 1955; (e) L. Joughin, "Scrutiny of Professors." *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, XLIV (#199, '58).

ceptance by universities of contracts for classified research has been eloquently stated^{1d} by Dean Bundy of Harvard. Even in cases of government contracts for completely unclassified research, considerations of political affiliations have entered into the selection of research personnel. We may cite the case of a contract between the Atomic Energy Commission and a leading university, which was prematurely terminated when it was found that one of the participating faculty members had leftist political leanings. For a brief period, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare held to a policy according to which Public Health Service research grants were not awarded to scientists holding currently unpopular political beliefs.

Funds for sponsored research are more readily available in some fields of knowledge than in others, so that important areas of scholarship may be neglected. Of the nearly half a billion dollars placed by federal agencies in universities in 1958, 95% went to the natural sciences.^{1c} Continuation of this trend cannot fail to bring a relative impoverishment to the humanities and social sciences, which would certainly not occur if the universities and university scholars were permitted free exercise of their own judgments. In the matter of financial aid to graduate students, and extra financial rewards to faculty members, severe imbalance in favor of the natural sciences is likewise developing under existing patterns of subsidization.

Granting agencies are often favorably inclined toward ambitious proposals for so-called programmatic research, to a degree which was not evidenced by the universities when they controlled the financing of their research activities.² It is well-recognized that very impressive results have in many instances

flowed from large-scale research programs, most notably in the field of nuclear physics. Indeed, many aspects of modern scientific research can be effectively pursued only on a programmatic basis. However, it is also well-recognized that in this country it is becoming increasingly difficult to develop support and appreciation for the highly individualistic investigator who contemplatively follows the paths into which his idle curiosity directs him. It is from such unplanned efforts that the fundamental advances in scholarship have always sprung; the studies of Isaac Newton, Michael Faraday, or J. Willard Gibbs could not have been programmed.

Certain governmental and industrial sources of funds are, quite understandably, more interested in supporting activities which are developmental rather than fundamental in character. Universities bear a heavy responsibility for fostering the creation of basic knowledge, and we can ill afford to have their staffs and facilities lured by financial inducements into the study of matters of immediacy.

The lion's share of sponsoring funds goes to institutions with outstanding scientists on their faculties and already strongly-developed research activities. Thus the stronger schools become proportionately even stronger, and it becomes increasingly difficult for less-well-established institutions to meet the competition for staff, students, and finances. It might be argued that this tendency is healthy, that we already suffer from an overabundance of weak colleges and universities. However this may be, the tendency should be recognized and discussed, rather than ignored.

The situation with respect to institutions is paralleled by the relative ease with which scientists with well-es-

² Recognition of the receptiveness accorded to ambitious proposals has lead to the development of practices which should be considered as beneath the ideals of academic propriety and dignity. A recent issue of a scientific weekly carried an advertisement seeking a "financial administrator," for a university research group of 20 scientists, whose duty it would be to seek and maintain sponsorship of the research program from government and industry; it was stated that applicants for the position must have previous experience in obtaining sponsorship and writing up proposals.

lished reputations secure generous support for their activities as compared with younger scientists, who are actually more apt to come forward with original ideas and are more able to pursue them with vigor.

There is good basis for the view that the indirect costs of sponsored research are larger than the overhead allowances included in most research contracts and grants, and that most fellowships and scholarships awarded by government and private agencies include insufficient amounts for the institution to cover the actual costs of the education it supplies. Thus the large sums channelled into may be aggravating their already acute universities under present arrangements financial problems. This, in turn, may lead to further intensification of the imbalance between disciplines, since university funds previously available to the social sciences and the humanities may have to be diverted to help underwrite the indirect costs of sponsored activities in the natural sciences.

There are many clumsy features in the present splintered arrangements for the administration of outside support for academic activities, which lead to serious wastes of time and funds. This is particularly true of governmental support. A large university may receive several million dollars annually in government research contracts and grants. For the most part, these funds are awarded to individual faculty members, who may number in the hundreds. Each of these has had to prepare a more or less elaborate proposal, which in turn has been subjected to detailed review and appraisal by officials in Washington and by panels of government, academic, and industrial scientists. Anyone familiar with these procedures is well aware that at the very least no charges of irresponsibility can be levelled at the various granting agencies; the most sincere efforts are made to insure that the taxpayers'

money is well spent. But when these procedures are compared with the informal conversations between university administrative and academic personnel which usually precede the granting of university support to a research or educational project, it is evident that much time and effort is lost which could better be employed in productive activity. There is also the matter of reports. Many agencies require annual progress reports, and more detailed reports at the termination of a contract or grant. The only evidence of accomplishment supplied to a university administration by one of its staff takes the form of published articles or books, or of recognition on the part of other scholars. Additions are continually being made to an already-bewildering array of diversified fellowship programs, ingenious programs for improving education and teaching at secondary, college, and graduate levels (complete with "validating" questionnaires prepared by commercial "research" institutions), and schemes for developing interest in scientific careers on the part of high school and college students, accompanied by serious inroads on the time college administrators and teachers have available for their proper functions.

The foregoing summary of some of the problems arising from government and private subsidy of university activities leads us back to the fundamental question raised earlier: Is it in the interest of society to permit the universities to lose a large measure of their authority in shaping the development of their own affairs? We urge that this is a question of the first importance to the nation and to society, and that developments rendering difficult a wise decision are multiplying at such a rate that no time should be lost in instituting an objective review of the situation on a nationwide scale.

The Academic Freedom Committee

American Civil Liberties Union

The Quantitative Content Analysis of Judicial Opinions

Some rules of law can be restated in quantitative terms. Their quantitative restatement provides a precise understanding of their meaning, which cannot be obtained from their conventional verbal statement, and it permits predictions about their application that—without a reliance on their quantitative formulation—are precluded.

The traditional qualitative appraisal of judicial action has shown limitations in the solution of various problems. A quantitative approach to these problems does not represent merely the pursuit of a fashionable endeavor, but serves the purpose of discovering or comprehending relationships that cannot be fully explored by an exclusive reliance on qualitative interpretation. A recent study identified several areas and aspects of judicial action to which quantitative methods have been applied, with meaningful results.¹ Content analysis is one area to which that study referred. The problem presented here is encompassed by content analysis, for it involves rules of law that are found in the form of case law, i.e., in the content of those parts of judicial opinions that are relevant to the decisions.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

There are rules of law which state that some combinations of a given set of circumstances require one decision, and other combinations of these circumstances require the opposite decision. Furthermore, these rules specify the general sets of circumstances, *but do not specify* which combinations will lead to one result and which combinations will lead to the opposite result. Since such rules of law are found in the form of case law, it is understandable that they are frequently encountered in Anglo-American law. To be sure, their appearance is not limited to the field of constitutional law. But they are conspicuous when they are found in the form of

rules of constitutional interpretation. The fair-trial rule, which has been used by the Supreme Court of the United States in determining the requirements of the due-process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment for State criminal procedure, is an outstanding example of such a rule of law. It states that some combinations of the personal circumstances of the defendant (the petitioner before the Supreme Court) and of the procedural circumstances of the case constitute a denial of due process and, therefore, call for a decision in favor of the petitioner, whereas other combinations of such circumstances do *not* amount to a denial of a constitutional right and, therefore, require a decision against the petitioner. This rule specifies the general set of circumstances, but it does not specify *which combinations of circumstances* will lead to one result and which combinations will lead to the opposite result. Two important areas of the application of the fair-trial rule are involuntary-confession cases and right-to-counsel cases. The Supreme Court has ruled that whether or not a confession used to convict an accused in a State criminal proceeding is coerced and, therefore, constitutes a denial of due process in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, depends in each case on the controlling circumstances. Similarly, it has ruled that whether or not the lack of counsel in a State criminal proceeding represents a denial of due process depends on a general set of circumstances.

The quantitative formulation of such rules of law, which is proposed here, is

¹ Glendon A. Schubert. "The Study of Judicial Decision Making as an Aspect of Political Behavior." *American Political Science Review*, LII (December, 1958), pp. 1007-25.

designed to provide the information that cannot be obtained from the conventional verbal statements of these rules of law: namely, a precise and exhaustive distinction between combinations of circumstances that lead to one decision and combinations that lead to the opposite decision. The object of the method of analysis which follows is to obtain this quantitative formulation.

THE METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The circumstances that appear in different combinations in the cases to which a rule of law is applied are referred to as *variables*. They can be identified from the opinions of the court in these cases. For example, in examining the rule of law employed by the Supreme Court in the involuntary-confession cases, the variables, *i.e.*, the circumstances of pressure to which the accused was subjected and the personal circumstances that indicated his inability to resist such pressure, can be identified from the opinions of the Supreme Court in such cases. The desired quantitative formulation of such a rule, for the cases to which it is applied, is obtained by finding numerical values which are based on the respective combinations of variables, and which clearly distinguish decisions in favor of the petitioner and decisions against the petitioner. Obviously, the numerical value of a case depends on the variables present in the case. It is possible, however, to restate the variables in terms of different entities, which—for the purpose of this analysis—are called factors. These factors represent the common and unique

characteristics of the variables. For example, in the involuntary-confession cases, the variables can be restated in terms of such factors as "tactic to keep the defendant ignorant of the proceeding against him," "tactic of subtle, non-violent means to obtain a confession," etc. The numerical value of a case thus depends on the factors to which the variables are reduced.

One purpose of restating the variables in terms of factors, before proceeding to locating the distinguishing numerical values of the cases, is to achieve economy in processing data at the final stage of the analysis,² without sacrificing any part of the information given by the statement of the variables in their original form. A more important purpose of this restatement is to take fully into account the mutual dependence or independence of the variables. The restatement is achieved by the use of factor analysis. For the problem discussed here, Hotelling's Iterative Method of Factoring³ is the most desirable method for finding the factors and for determining how each variable can be restated in their terms. This process of factoring is the first stage in the proposed factor analysis. The second stage, the "estimation of factors," is concerned with restating the combination of variables in each case in terms of the factors that have been identified. For the problem under discussion, the Shortened Estimation Method⁴ is suitable.

At the completion of the second stage, the combination of variables in each case has been restated in terms of a combina-

² By restating the variables in terms of factors, the final multiple regression analysis has to deal with fewer unknowns than would be the case if it were applied directly to the variables. This difference may be critical as far as the sufficiency of information for solving the simultaneous equations is concerned.

³ Harold Hotelling, "Analysis of a Complex of Statistical Variables into Principal Components," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XXIV (September and October, 1933), pp. 417-41, 498-520; "Simplified Calculation of Principal Components," *Psychometrika*, I (March, 1936), pp. 27-35. For a systematic and complete presentation of Hotelling's method, see L. L. Thurstone, *Multiple Factor Analysis*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947, pp. 480-510.

⁴ Walter Lederman, "On a Shortened Method of Estimation of Mental Factors by Regression," *Psychometrika*, IV (June, 1939), pp. 109-16; Harry H. Harman, "On the Rectilinear Prediction of Oblique Factors," *Psychometrika*, VI (February, 1941), pp. 29-35. For a systematic and complete presentation of the Shortened Method and its relation to the Complete Estimation Method, see Karl J. Holzinger and Harry H. Harman, *Factor Analysis*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. 267-75, 278-83.

tion of factors. The next step is to locate numerical values for the combinations of factors in the various cases which will clearly distinguish combinations that represent decisions of one kind and combinations that represent decisions of the opposite kind. For example, in the involuntary-confession cases, the object of this phase of the analysis is to find numerical values designed so that each decision of the Supreme Court in favor of the petitioner is represented by a higher numerical value than any Court decision against the petitioner. Such numerical values are located by the use of a multiple regression analysis;⁵ they distinctly indicate which combinations of circumstances (variables) in various cases lead to one result, and which combinations lead to the opposite result. That is, they provide the information that cannot be obtained from the conventional verbal statement of the applicable rule of law. By the nature of the analysis, the numerical values make the desired distinction for cases already decided. For a new case, a numerical value indicative of the decision can be readily computed on the basis of the data provided by the analysis, as soon as the variables of the new case are identified. In this respect, the quantitative formulation of a rule of law with the indicated characteristic has predictive capacity.

The proposed analysis has been applied to the involuntary-confession cases and to the right-to-counsel cases,⁶ i.e., to two important areas of constitutional law in which the Supreme Court has employed the fair-trial rule. However, the proposed method of analysis is designed to quantify any rule of law that makes the decision of a case dependent

on unspecified combinations of specified controlling circumstances. Suggestions for further applications of the method are made below.

PURPOSES, LIMITATIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND PROPOSALS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As indicated, the main purpose of the proposed analysis is the quantitative formulation of rules of law with a precision that the conventional verbal statement of these rules does not provide. There is an important limitation to achieving this, however: in some instances the sample of cases is relatively small. To some extent, this limitation is encountered in the involuntary-confession cases and in the right-to-counsel cases. However, since the proposed method has general applicability, it can be applied to rules of law for which a relatively large number of cases are available. State workmen's compensation cases are open to the application of this method. Here, as in many other areas where rules of law make the decisions of cases dependent on unspecified combinations of specified controlling circumstances, the application of the method would be immensely facilitated by writing a comprehensive computer program that would cover every phase of the method in one continuous process. The economy in time would be enormous (the work of many months would be reduced to several hours), and such economy would greatly encourage further use of the method. Of course, the pursuit of such research calls for diversified skills, such as a knowledge of law, familiarity with mathematical statistics, experience with computer programming, and a great deal of patience.

It should be understood that the quantitative formulation of the rules of law

⁵ Numerous references for multiple regression analysis are available. One convenient source is Oscar Kempthorne, *The Design and Analysis of Experiments*, New York: Wiley & Sons, 1952, pp. 38-40. In the problem under discussion, the nature of the decision is the dependent variable and the factor estimates in each case are the independent variables. The cases represent the conditional equations for the regression analysis.

⁶ The study that presents this application of the analysis was prepared under the Law and Behavioral Science Fellowship program of the University of Chicago Law School. The author is particularly indebted to Fred L. Strodtbeck and Lee H. Hook, University of Chicago Law School, for proposing the method of analysis, with regard to the general approach as well as with regard to the details of application. A detailed report of this study can be obtained from the author.

offers a *conditional* and not an *unconditional* prediction of the decision. In other words, the decision is predicted on the basis of the numerical case-value, with the assumption that the combination of circumstances that will be accepted by the court is known. For an attorney, the practical value of this *conditional* prediction is that he is in a position to anticipate which combinations of circumstances would lead to a decision in favor of his client, and which combinations would be insufficient for such a decision (information that he could not obtain from the conventional verbal statement of the rule of law). On this basis, he would know which circumstances he should impress upon the court. An *unconditional* prediction would be attained by combining the proposed method with a method for predicting the combination of circumstances that actually will be accepted by the court from the submitted briefs and—in the case of an appellate court—from the lower court reports. It would be a challenging task in the field of probability theory to develop such a method and a task to which further research certainly should be devoted.

Aside from prediction, the proposed method makes it possible to determine conformance and non-conformance by lower courts to rules of law stated in flexible form by higher courts. This analysis has been performed on the right-to-counsel rule in State criminal proceedings by comparing the position of the United States Supreme Court with the positions of the highest appellate courts in three State jurisdictions.⁷ A similar analysis of the involuntary-confession rule is another area for further research. One purpose of the proposed method, related to the

determination of conformance and non-conformance by lower courts to the rule of law stated by higher courts, is the detection of conflicts between federal and State practice in matters that have not yet been adjudicated by the United States Supreme Court. For example, do the decisions of State courts in a jurisdiction that has an exclusionary rule against the admission of evidence obtained by an unreasonable search-and-seizure coincide with the decisions of the United States Supreme Court in federal search-and-seizure cases? The exploration of this question in terms of the proposed method also would be fruitful.

Finally, the method can be used to examine the rationale on which a rule of law with the indicated characteristic is based. For example, are the Supreme Court decisions in the involuntary-confession cases based on the "untrustworthiness" rationale or on the "deterrence rationale"? The basis for an investigation of this problem, in terms of the proposed method, has been prepared.⁸ Similar problems can be examined by relying on the same approach.

It should be clear that the proposed quantitative analysis *itself* represents a completely objective endeavor, *i.e.*, it neither indicts nor vindicates judicial action in the applicable areas. However, if the value-premise of consistency is invoked, the proposed quantitative analysis provides a defense of judicial action in specific areas, for it reveals patterns of consistency that the conventional qualitative appraisals have been unable to detect.

Fred Kort

Department of Political Science
University of Connecticut

⁷ A detailed exposition of this basis for further investigation is given in the study referred to in footnote 6, above.

⁸ A detailed exposition of this analysis is given in the study referred to in footnote 6, above.

Congressional Predictions of Judicial Behavior

Members of Congress as well as the President make varying and usually implicit requirements of men whom they consider eligible for the Supreme Court. The author proposes studies that would make explicit the relations between formal requirements and subsequent judicial behavior; the information obtained would prove essential to presidential and congressional decision-making in selecting justices.

From 1789 to 1959, from Jefferson to Jenner, criticisms of the United States Supreme Court have been commonplace. Attacks upon the Court have been motivated by dissatisfaction with various facets of the judicial process; perhaps the most important area of dissatisfaction has centered on the decisional behavior of the justices. As a result, bills designed to establish qualifications for those appointed to the Court are continually being introduced in Congress. The number of such attempts reflects concern on the part of individual congressmen over the fact that, while the position of Supreme Court Justice is among the most important in the government, neither Constitution nor statute establishes requirements for those appointed to the Court. This is indeed strange when one considers that even the President must meet certain constitutional requirements; that is, he must be 35 years of age, a natural-born citizen, and 14 years a resident within the United States. Thus, a man such as Frankfurter may serve as Supreme Court Justice but not as President of the United States.

Of course, there is little danger that the President will appoint a blundering idiot to the Court, but there is nothing to prevent him from so doing. Since Washington's second term, the "advice and consent" of the Senate to Supreme Court nominations has meant that the Senate merely gives "consent." There is no advising function. Consent itself tends to be automatic confirmation. This is reflected in the fact that only one nomination in this century has failed to receive Senate confirmation. This failure had nothing whatsoever to do with the "quality" of the individual involved but

resulted from political pressure from the labor movement.

The role of confidential adviser to the President is filled by the Department of Justice. At present, it appears that the Department considers, among other factors, (1) the experience of the individual, (2) his character, and (3) political affiliation and activity. The last factor, ironically, may actually eliminate many men who are eminently qualified under the other two. Moreover, it is not known what other factors are considered, how often the factors change, who furnishes the information upon which the judgment is based, etc. At any rate, this system is not apt to maximize the qualities one normally expects to find in Supreme Court Justices. What are these qualities?

As Willard Hurst has pointed out, one difficulty in appraising the quality of the bench in the United States has been a lack of agreement on the qualities that make a good judge. Individual congressmen, however, have held strong convictions on this score and have spelled these out in the process of advocating passage of particular "qualification" bills.

Generally speaking, bills designed to restrict or limit the Supreme Court in some formal manner represent *prediction* on the part of their sponsors. Each such bill assumes a particular relationship between the formal requirement proposed and subsequent judicial behavior. For example, those who advocate the election of judges are predicting that an elected judge will behave differently from an appointed one. Hypotheses along this line are empirically testable at the State level, since one may compare elective

and nonelective systems in terms of the behavior predicted. While the work done in this area is sketchy, some of the relationships have been studied. The available evidence indicates that appointment of judges does not guarantee a more conservative bench than election.

The relationships between formal requirements and subsequent judicial behavior, which are assumed in bills designed to limit or restrict the United States Supreme Court, present peculiar problems for empirical investigation. There is only one Supreme Court and it is so unique as an institution that comparison with any other domestic court is not likely to be very fruitful. (Possibly, one might make cross-cultural comparisons.) But, if we study the Court in terms of the nine individual justices, some of the difficulties are overcome. We may concentrate upon the relations predicted between formal requirements for *individual* justices and subsequent judicial behavior. These relationships may be empirically clarified if the variable specified in the formal requirement has frequently been associated with individual judges in the past.

Congressional bills incorporating such variables are often introduced. Among the most common types are those requiring prior judicial service for all persons appointed to the United States Supreme Court. This type of bill has been quite conspicuous in post-1954 periods. In 1956-1957, for example, at least 13 bills or resolutions of this nature were presented to Congress for action. A typical bill is S-3759, which was introduced by Senator Smathers of Florida. This bill would require five years previous judicial service on a federal bench or the highest State bench for all nominees to the Supreme Court. S-3811, introduced by Senator Long of Louisiana, would require six years' service on a court of record. Senate Resolution 264, presented by Senator Stennis of Mississippi in 1956 and reintroduced in 1957, would require at least one of each two successive appointees to the Court confirmed by the Senate

to have at least ten years' service on a federal bench or on a State court of general jurisdiction. Such proposals are motivated, of course, by a dissatisfaction with decisional behavior of Supreme Court justices, combined with the belief that judicial behavior may be influenced in the desired direction by the variables incorporated in the form of requirements. The sponsors of these measures assume a relationship between the variables and the desired behavior; they are predicting that the introduction of their particular variable will have a specific impact upon Supreme Court decision-making.

The impact that is predicted is spelled out in comments upon the measures by their authors. Thus, Senator Long feels that the meaning of the Constitution does not change through time. The Court, he says, should follow precedent. It should not react to political pressures. His bill, in effect, predicts that prior judicial service operates to produce precedent-following judges. Stennis wants a court composed of justices "wedded to the system of precedent." He thinks his bill will maximize such inclinations. Smathers deplores policy-making judges. The function of the judge, in his mind, is "merely to interpret the Constitution and laws passed in relation thereto."

Clearly, these three Senators are predicting that prior judicial service will tend to produce a Supreme Court of strict constructionists. The great judge, in their minds, is the strict legalist, the non-policy-making judge who makes his decisions in terms of legal rules and couches his decisional explanations in legal jargon.

In contradistinction to this view, Justice Frankfurter has declared that "one is entitled to say without qualification that the correlation between prior judicial service and fitness for the functions of the Supreme Court is zero." Students of the subject will no doubt disagree as to what constitutes "fitness for the functions" of the Court. But, all will agree to the importance of validating or disproving broad, general

statements about relationships or alleged correlations. We do not have to take such statements at face value. One can discover on other than intuitional bases whether the correlation asserted by Frankfurter is fact, or a figment of his imagination fertilized by a lack of judicial service prior to taking his seat on the Supreme Court bench. Predictions of the Smathers type may be studied empirically with considerable promise of success, since the particular variable involved has frequently been present in the background of Supreme Court appointees. The inquiry should pose the question: "Have appointees to the United States Supreme Court with prior judicial service evinced a greater tendency toward strict construction of the Constitution than appointees without such service?"

Such a study might involve the following: (1) a general survey of the "qualification" problem; (2) a survey of congressional attempts to establish qualifications for Supreme Court appointees; (3) a consideration of the constitutional ramifications of such attempts; (4) the abstraction and categorization of the behavioral assumptions and predictions in total congressional effort in this area; (5) the development of a set of hypotheses in terms of which the assumptions and predictions can be empirically tested; (6) the collection of necessary data; (7) analysis; (8) conclusions.

There are clear reasons for making

such a study. A positive relationship between certain social background variables and judicial behavior is freely predicted in a public forum. The existence of the relationship is a vital factor in the advocacy and support of certain suggested legislation. Yet, the relationships are assumed, not proved. An investigation of the type suggested here would be of considerable assistance to the policymaker who is attempting to formulate and articulate legislation in the public interest. A study, if successful, would likewise furnish the appointing officer (the President in this case) with needed information, permitting appointments to be made in a more intelligent setting. Nominations to the Supreme Court cannot be made without consideration of the possible consequences. A nominational decision must be made in terms of the role and function of the Court as envisaged by the executive. The President must, therefore, make a judgment or prediction in each case as to the extent to which a particular nominee will contribute to the maximization of these goals. It should be noted in passing that Eisenhower appears to have accepted the Smathers, Long, Stennis theory of what makes a great judge. His last four appointees to the Court have all had extensive judicial experience prior to taking a seat on the high bench.

S. Sidney Ulmer

Department of Political Science
Michigan State University

IN THE NEWS

continued from p. 2

since 7/58 in U.S., Canada, some 110 listings. Copies available @ \$2. * * * New Twentieth Century Fund Study by Calvin Hoover, "The Economy, Liberty and the State," states, "Perhaps the greatest weakness of modern capitalism is its lack of support among a large part of the intelligentsia. Their failure to support it renders the system vulnerable to replacement...." Perhaps capitalism should come more to the support of intellectuals?

UNIVERSITIES: Dr. Pusey reports that Harvard hopes to raise average professional salary to \$16M, \$2M higher than at any other institution at present.

MARCH, 1960

Research, Participation, and the Teaching of Politics

The director of the Political Studies Program at the University of North Carolina discusses the program's outstanding features. Both graduate and under-graduate courses in American government and politics have accompanying laboratory sessions that permit student observation and participation in politics in a research-oriented situation. Begun in 1957, the program has already had excellent results.

The following article discusses another aspect of social science research at North Carolina.

In September, 1957, the Department of Political Science of the University of North Carolina began a Political Studies Program designed to make direct observation of and participation in politics major elements in the learning process of its students. A three-year grant of \$55,000 from the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation has provided the principal financial support of the program to date. A second Falk grant of \$84,000 insures the program's continued growth in the immediate future.

This is not the place to describe the program in detail.¹ It suffices to say, by way of general introduction, that the program has a number of characteristics common to other Falk programs, along with several more or less unique features. This note is specifically concerned with these special features, in particular, the use of research and participation as teaching devices.

THE LABORATORY METHOD OF INSTRUCTION

The principal innovation of the program is the use of regularly-scheduled "laboratories" in five undergraduate and graduate courses on American government and politics. In each of these courses, a weekly one- or two-hour laboratory period has been substituted for the third hour of lecture-discussion.

In these laboratory sessions, students

are presented with real-life problems to solve or situations to analyze. Under the guidance of laboratory instructors, they analyze these problems by reference to public documents and basic source materials in the Laboratory Room; by going into "the field" to observe and question politicians, public officials, voters, etc.; or by participating directly in the political process. In some labs, the students work as individuals; in others, they work as a group. In either event, each student is required to write a paper on each lab topic covered in the course. The best of these papers are published in an attractively-bound, mimeographed series entitled *Research Reports*, which are circulated to interested persons throughout the country.²

Several ambitious laboratory topics have been undertaken thus far: a study of lobbyists and lobbying in North Carolina, based upon interviews with all the registered lobbyists in the State and with some members of the legislature and other State officials; a study of a Negro Voters League in Durham, N. C., based upon discussions with Negro leaders and interviews with a random sample of Negro voters; a study of the recruitment and voting behavior of members of the N. C. House of Representatives, during which all 120 members of the House were interviewed at considerable length; a study of the relation between party activity and voting on the county

¹ A more complete description may be obtained from the program's *Annual Report*, copies of which will be sent upon request.

² Readers of this note who wish to receive copies of *Research Reports* will be placed on the mailing list upon request.

level, based upon election returns, interviews with party leaders, and a mail questionnaire. A study of the 1960 Democratic primary race for Governor is currently being planned; it will use data gained from participant observation, election statistics, and a pre-primary opinion survey.

Taking part in projects such as these brings the students into personal contact with the political world *at the same time that it equips them with the skills and perspectives needed to understand the experience.* The students — from their sophomore year on — learn something about political science as a discipline and the difficulties and delights of seeking reliable political knowledge. The labs tend to shock the students out of the strictly passive approach to learning and to bring students and staff together in a common quest for knowledge. This is an atmosphere hard to create in other ways.

THE JOINT GRADUATE-UNDERGRADUATE APPROACH

The Political Studies Program seeks to improve graduate and under-graduate instruction in American politics simultaneously. The program's impact on graduate students takes place at two levels.

First, several lab courses are offered at the graduate level and are taken by most graduate students during their first and second years in residence. The labs in these courses tend to be more ambitious in scope, more closely related to the major theoretical problems of political science, and more explicitly concerned with problems of research method than are those in undergraduate courses.

In the second place, five graduate students — beginning fall, 1960, eight graduate students — are appointed Falk

Fellows each year. These fellowships afford far more than simply financial support for the students while pursuing their studies. The fellows serve as teaching assistants in the laboratory and aid the senior staff in the design and administration of field work projects carried on by undergraduate students. In so doing, they relieve senior staff members of what would otherwise be an excessive teaching and administrative burden, and themselves gain invaluable experience in the difficult arts of teaching, research design, and administration. The importance of this phase of the program is difficult to exaggerate. These fledgling Ph.D.'s will teach thousands of students during their lifetime. If their experience as Falk Fellows improves their future performance as teachers, the program will have made a significant contribution to political education.

IMPACT UPON STUDENTS

Now, after two and one-half years of operation, it is possible to hazard some tentative opinions on the effects of the program.

It seems to us — and the readers of *PROD* hardly need be reminded that teachers' estimates of their own influence are notoriously fallible — that the Political Studies Program has been most successful with *superior* students. As early as their sophomore year, the good student is urged to engage in independent and *original* research and writing. He collaborates with senior staff members and able young graduate students on group research projects. His laboratory sections are small and he receives much individual attention. Outstanding performance is rewarded through the publication of student papers, the Washington Summer Internships,³ and in other ways. It is especially noteworthy that

³ Five to seven especially able students are sent to Washington each summer, all expenses paid, to work in the offices of Representatives and Senators. Weekly seminars and frequent interviews with leading public officials are held under the direction of Mr. William C. Gibbons, a former director of the APSA Congressional Intern Program. The exceptional intellectual supervision and guidance that he gives the students, plus the unusual access to Congressional leaders that our location in the South provides, has made our internships far more than just an "exciting experience."

such opportunities are provided students by a State university that is facing the prospect of rapidly increasing enrollments. The larger the University becomes, the more important are these opportunities for able students. Moreover, we believe that this feature of the program is in harmony with the aims of the Falk Foundation and the national campaign for better citizenship education in the colleges that it has inspired. One of the pamphlets published early in this national campaign was entitled, "Better Minds for Better Politics."⁴ It is the better minds that this program reaches most effectively.

We may be able to improve our record with the less able undergraduates. The laboratory courses have justly earned the reputation of being hard work: they scare some of these students away. On the other hand, the enrollment in the lab courses seems to be increasing more rapidly than that of the University. Moreover, quite ordinary students occasionally will "catch fire," as a result of the lab experience, and perform at a level far surpassing anything they have ever done before.

The program seems to have been successful with graduate students. For the beginning graduate students, the lab courses usually are their first experience at actually *doing* empirical research. And often their prior exposure to the political world has been limited and haphazard. The Falk Fellows are considerably better trained political scientists at the end of their year or two of service than before.

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

Our plans for the future call for no drastic changes in the program. So far, we have experimented with five courses in the area of American government and politics. In the future, we hope to increase the number of courses using the laboratory technique and perhaps even

to try it in other fields of political science. While it is not their primary purpose, the labs have resulted in the accumulation of empirical data on North Carolina politics more rapidly than we have been able to analyze it. During the next three years we intend to provide senior staff members with released time for research and writing in the laboratory. This will not only contribute to the growth of political knowledge, but will also feedback into the program through new and better teaching materials. The high costs of lab instruction — almost entirely the result of the heavy demands it places on staff time — must be faced. The pressures are all in the direction of decreasing the unit costs of instruction; the labs increase the costs per student. The additional cost is repaid many times over by the higher quality instruction received by the student. But this is not always an easy position to "sell" to hard-pressed academic administrators, State legislators, and trustees.

CONCLUSIONS

Our experience suggests that student observation and participation in politics *within a research-oriented situation* has pay-offs that very substantially exceed its cost. It awakens interest in politics, and provides some "feel" for politics. It teaches the student what political science, as a discipline, is about. It requires students to try to *be* political scientists, and not just consumers of their writings. It is an excellent way in which to train the next generation's teachers and may even, from time to time, result in significant new knowledge. Finally, it provides more than the usual superficial or merely hortatory preparation for citizenship.

Donald R. Matthews

Director, Political Studies Program
University of North Carolina

⁴ Citizenship Clearing House. *Better Minds for Better Politics*. N.Y.: no date, 15 pp.

The Institute for Research in Social Science

A psychologist and research administrator describes a successful 35-year-old research institution at the University of North Carolina, basing his notes upon printed materials and a recent visit to the Institute. The Institute apparently has found the means for achieving stability under conditions of short tenures and resource-indeterminacy.

The Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina provides an administrative framework within which research is thriving. In addition, it provides encouragement and assistance to members of the faculty and graduate students of the University, enhances the research status of the University and the State, and meets the needs and interests of a variety of research sponsors. The Institute is in its 35th year, and currently is directed by Daniel O. Price. It was organized in 1924 by Howard W. Odum, to meet "the need for an interdisciplinary research institute that would emphasize projects and problems, not separate disciplines, and that would take as its major field of research the South as a region." Its objectives were stated in a recent annual report:

- (1) To encourage and stimulate increasingly rigorous scientific research in the social sciences and related fields and to carry on a coordinated and integrated research program.

- (2) To discover and develop research personnel, achieving this purpose in collaboration with the several social science departments of the Graduate School.

- (3) To facilitate communication and collaboration between faculty members in the several social sciences and related fields.

- (4) To serve as a center for cooperation with other agencies in the development and testing of procedures for making social science research of more functional value.

Appropriation from the State, through the University, currently provides the salaries of the Director, the Assistant Director, one additional faculty member,

eight graduate student assistants, five secretaries, and moderate funds for travel and other operational expenses. Beyond this, research conducted through the Institute is financed by grants or contracts. Expenditures for the year 1958-59 were \$500,000, close to 85% of which was derived from foundation and other sponsorship. The University provides the Institute with two entire floors of the Alumni Building, in the heart of the campus.

The staff of the Institute includes approximately 50 research professors and research assistants, and some 20 miscellaneous junior research personnel. Any member of the University faculty may apply for affiliation with the Institute. There are two requirements for such affiliation: a research proposal approved by the Institute, and agreement by the faculty member's department chairman to release one-third of his time for research. Affiliation is only for the length of the project. The Institute in turn provides its members with all administrative services for the project, research assistants, and secretarial service. It provides these through the grant funds the faculty member may himself have obtained; through grant funds which the Center may have procured for the project; or through its own funds, when the need falls within the limitations of those funds. The Center also provides up to \$100 to each member for attending professional meetings, if no other source for such funds is available to him. In the approval of projects, emphasis is on fundamental research; applied research is considered only if it has theoretical significance.

Most of the staff of the Institute is

composed of members of the University teaching faculty. If full-time research appointments are made, their selection is carried out in connection with the appropriate department of the University, and such research personnel are encouraged to participate in the teaching program. Graduate student assistants are usually recommended and selected by the research men to whom they are to be assigned. They are not permitted to do routine work, but must actually be involved in the research process. They get full residence credit for their time in the Institute.

The areas in which research is conducted through the Institute are almost as numerous as the interests of the members of the University faculty. There are however, certain focal areas:

(1) *The Negro*. In its history, the Institute has conducted numerous individual research projects concerned with the Negro, but it is now entering upon a long-range program of fundamental research on the changing position of the Negro in American society. A grant of \$200,000 for a three-year period has been made by the Rockefeller Foundation. According to the most recent annual report,

the Institute, with its background and traditions fixed in southern studies and with its location in a major university in the South whose academic climate is conducive to research, is in a strategic position to take leadership in a series of research studies yielding generalizations on problems of race relations and the changing position of the Negro. . . . It is felt that the approval of this project begins an expanded program of research involving most of the social science disciplines in the University. This first stage is mainly in the field of sociology and political science, but as soon as some methodological problems have been solved, it is reasonably certain to expect financing for a variety of projects involving other social sciences where there are

research workers with an interest in this general area. I think it is reasonable to expect that, as an outgrowth of these studies, the University of North Carolina will become known throughout the United States as the center of scientific information regarding the Negro and his changing position in American culture.

(2) *Urban Studies Center*. Initiated by a Ford Foundation grant of \$500,000 in 1959 and supplemented by other grants, the Urban Studies Program of the Institute is conducting 15 projects in the rapidly-urbanizing industrial area known as the Piedmont Crescent, an area comprising 16 counties and two million people. The focus is upon fundamental research into (1) the phenomenon of industrialization, (2) the shifting living patterns, (3) the systems of political, economic, and social action stemming from urban development, and (4) the control processes set in motion in the course of this action and interaction. The senior research staff of the Center includes the disciplines of city and regional planning, economics, sociology, political science, anthropology, and social psychology.

(3) *Organization Research Group*. The members of the Departments of Psychology and Sociology who constitute this group are engaged in a series of studies of social conformity, social perception and communication, group structure, and group performance.

(4) *Social Science Aspects of Health and the Health Professions*. The main tasks of this group to date have been training and research consultation related to the psychological components of health and illness. Areas of research interest currently being developed include the social ecology of mental illness, patient-staff interaction, community social process and illness, and social science and the life-situational approach in medicine.

(5) *Political Behavior Committee*. This committee has no group program

at present. Its funds and the energies of its individual members are currently being used to complete research well under way, including Professor F. G. Gil's research and writing on modern political parties in Latin America; for participation in the Urban Studies Program; and for extensive planning, in connection with the Institute's Negro program, for several years of important research on the political behavior of Negroes in comparison with other elements in southern society.

Most of the faculty members associated with the Institute are at work on individual research projects, rather than in close affiliation with one of the focal areas described above. Their interests encompass many research areas: Communications, Personality and Psychological Testing, Marriage and the Family, Labor Mobility, Latin American Studies, Cultural Studies, Southern History, Industrial Development, Social-Industrial Relations, Rural Social Institutions, North Carolina Studies, Economic Development, Racial and Ethnic Groups, Personality and Behavioral Studies, Operations Research, Human Relations in

Industry, Econometrics, Population, Statistical Methods, Regionalism, Folk Sociology, and Occupational Mobility.

A mimeographed publication, entitled *Research Previews*, "issued occasionally" by the Institute, carries brief research reports by members of the staff.

In the opinion of the writer, the North Carolina Institute represents one of the more economical and effective administrative devices for encouraging research among the members of a university faculty and for furnishing them with tangible assistance. The man with research ideas and skills is assisted in obtaining financial support for his projects, is assured of time to devote to it, is left free to pursue the project unencumbered by administrative chores, and is provided with technical and secretarial assistance. The faculty of the University of North Carolina, the Institute, the University treasury, and social science research—are all beneficiaries of the formula.

Carleton F. Scofield

Center for Applied Social Research
New York University

The University of Michigan Graduate Degree Program in Political Behavior

In submitting this announcement of a new program to PROD, the co-director stated, "We are all most excited about this development within our Department. If the demand we anticipate comes from really good students, we shall look for some unusually rewarding teaching experiences in the next few years. . . . Any top notch student that appears on the scene will be taken care of one way or another. Consequently, if you have a young and brilliant scholar thirsting after our brand of intellectual nectar, we would be pleased to have an application sent to us post haste."

The Political Science Department of the University of Michigan has established a graduate degree program in political behavior, which will be inaugurated in the fall of 1960 under the joint directorship of Professors Samuel J. Eldeveld and Warren E. Miller. This program is designed for students who wish

to acquire training in the methods and substantive interests identified with the behavioral approach to the study of politics. The program encompasses a wide range of research interests, including legislative and administrative behavior, and metropolitan politics as well as the problems traditionally associated

with parties, pressure groups, and public opinion.

The entering student will undertake an integrated program of work through the doctoral degree. The following fields will normally be mastered by students enrolled in the program: Parties, Elections, and Political Behavior; Research Methodology and Techniques; and Recent and Contemporary Political Theories. A fourth field will be selected by the student from among the remaining fields of political science. A cognate will also be offered, consisting usually of courses in sociology and social psychology that complement the emphasis chosen within political science.

Major attention will be given to training in the methods of empirical research on political behavior. This training will have three principal elements: (1) training in statistical analysis, (2) training in research techniques, and (3) actual experience in designing, undertaking, and reporting research. The student normally will participate in research projects from the beginning of his degree program and will undertake his dissertation after having gained considerable background and methodological skill in research. The program will emphasize many different research techniques, including participant observation, content analysis, legislative roll call analysis, analysis of aggregate social and economic data and election statistics, the design and analysis of laboratory experiments, and the methods of survey research.

The program will be aided greatly by the availability of unusual research facilities at the University of Michigan. Foremost among these is the Survey Research Center of the Institute of Social Research, whose program of political research has extended over more than ten years. The data of this research, as well

as opportunities for training in current research projects, will be available to students enrolled in the program. The Detroit Area Study, housed administratively in the Center, provides a training laboratory of exceptional value. And the resources of the Research Center for Group Dynamics, an additional part of the Institute for Social Research, will contribute to the strength of the program.

Three members of the Political Science Department will assume primary responsibility for teaching and counselling in the program. Professor Eldersveld has undertaken behavioral studies of politics and government over a number of years. His field investigations include two major studies utilizing the Detroit Area Study. Professor Miller also has undertaken many studies of political behavior. He currently holds a joint appointment in the Political Science Department and the Survey Research Center, where he is Assistant Program Director. Professor Donald E. Stokes, the third member of the program staff, also holds a joint appointment in the Political Science Department and the Survey Research Center, where he is Study Director.

There are five primary sources of student subsidy: University fellowships, Behavioral Science fellowships, Assistantships in Research in the Political Behavior Program of Survey Research Center, and Research Assistantships in the Detroit Area Study (DAS). The last two involve part-time work, and the DAS assistantships are not available until the student has completed the DAS course work sequence.¹

Warren E. Miller

Department of Political Science
and Survey Research Center
University of Michigan

¹ The deadlines for 1960-61 fellowship applications have passed; the deadlines for 1961-62 are in February, 1961.

Annotated BIBLIOGRAPHY on Policy Research and Political Behavior

(Selection based upon a search of journals published or received in this country since the preceding issue of PROD, books recently published, and government documents and fugitive materials recently published. New issues of 233 journals are currently surveyed. Beginning with this issue, prices of new books and fugitive materials will be given, when available.)

- ADLER, F., "A Unit Concept for Sociology." *Amer. J. of Soc.*, LXV (Jan. '60), 356-64. Theoretical usefulness of the "behavior item," the smallest observable, meaningful manifestation of an organism, and the posited "social behavior" item, whose meaning lies in its probability relations to other behavior units.
- AINSWORTH, K. G., "The Differential Impact of Grants-In-Aid Upon the Industry of the States." *Amer. J. of Econ. and Soc.*, XIX (Oct. '59), 27-44. Compares public assistance and highway construction grants with tax revenues, concludes that "differences in the estimated tax bills of similar corporations for the states . . . show that there are interstate tax pressures on industry."
- ALBERT, E. M., and C. KLUCKHOHN. *A Selected Bibliography on Values, Ethics, and Esthetics in the Behavioral Sciences and Philosophy, 1935-1958*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959. Annotated listing of some 2,000 books and articles.
- ALEXANDER-FRUTSCHI, M. C. *An Annotated Bibliography on Small Industry Development*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959. Emphasizes items on the role of modernized small industry in economic development, and methods of promoting such industry in underdeveloped countries.
- AVNER [pseud.]. *Memoirs of an Assassin*. N.Y.: T. Yoseloff, 1959 (trans. from French). Methods, activities of a terrorist group dedicated to driving the British from Palestine by violence.
- BATOR, F. M. *The Question of Government Spending: Public Needs and Private Wants*. N.Y.: Harper, 1960.
- BAYTON, J. A., "Researching the Corporate Image." *Quarterly R. of Public Relations*, IV (Oct. '59), 3-8. Premises and methods; persons often see companies as having personality patterns; systematic research can uncover the sources and content of such images.
- BLOOMFIELD, L. P., and N. J. PADELFORD, "Three Experiments in Political Gaming." *Amer. Pol. Sci. R.*, LIII (Dec. '59), 1105-15. Simulation of international situations provided critiques of the gaming method: such exercises should have specific purposes, participants often lack adequate knowledge; the method nevertheless has some unique research, teaching values.
- BOHANNAN, P., "The Impact of Money on an African Subsistence Economy." *J. of Econ. Hist.*, XIX (Dec. '59), 491-503. A Nigerian multi-centric economy, one "in which a society's exchangeable goods fall into two or more mutually exclusive spheres," has undergone great institutional change under the impact of "money" in the Western sense.
- BROWER, M. T. *The U.S. National Interest—Assertions and Definitions*. Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Intl. Studies, 1959, \$3.00. A selected compendium and analysis of postwar statements by Presidents and Secretaries of State, with particular reference to the U. N.
- CARLSTON, K. S., "Nationalization: An Analytical Approach." *Northwestern U. Law R.*, LIV (Sept.-Oct. '59), 405-33. Political power is increasingly dispersed (nationalized) and exercises growing control over economic life, producing conflicts because economic life is more and more an international system of action; implications for international law are examined.
- CASSIRER, H. R., "Audience Participation, New Style." *Pub. Opin. Q.*, XXIII (Winter '59-'60), 329-36. Projects combining broadcasting and public discussion in Great Britain, Canada, India, France, Italy, Japan, suggest a trend to programs addressed to specific audiences, to stimulate them to action.
- CAULFIELD, H. P., JR., "The Living Past in Federal Power Policy." In *Resources for the Future: Annual Report*, Washington, D.C.: 1959, 24-33. Recounts events and circumstances of 50 to 150 years ago whose influence still is helping to shape problems and issues in the controversial field of federal power policy.
- Center for International Studies *Eighth Annual Report, 1958-1959*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T., 1959. Lists studies in economic, political development, international communication, etc., outlines the history and philosophy of the Center, lists new publications.
- CHEROUST, A.-H., "The Dilemma of the American Lawyer in the Post-Revolutionary Era." *Notre Dame Lawyer*, XXXV (Dec. '59), 48-76. The recruitment of new lawyers, their role as "founders and promoters of public institutions and legal policies," and the development of American legal precepts, through c. 1830.
- DAVIS, M., "Community Attitudes toward Flouridation." *Pub. Opin. Q.*, XXIII (Winter '59-'60), 474-82. Cites the need for a much more scientific citizenry if opinions and votes on local politics

- and national policy are not to possess a weird "naturalism."
- DAVIS, N. Z., "Sixteenth-Century French Arithmetics on the Business Life." *J. of Hist. of Ideas*, XXI (Jan.-March '60), 18-48. A content analysis: evidence of stratification, social habits is found in arithmetic primers, which influenced the secularization of life, the development of a social image of business.
- DUNNING, J. H., "Non-Pecuniary Elements and Business Behaviour." *Oxford Econ. Papers*, XI (Oct. '59), 229-41. Attempts to incorporate such elements into the theory of the firm, proposes several methods of measuring them.
- DUTT, V. P., "The Rectification Campaign in China." *Intl. Studies*, I (July '59), 28-50. Story of the constructive criticism of the regime encouraged in Communist China early in 1957, and the resultant purge of the critics.
- EULAU, H., and W. DICKSON, "Manpower in War and Peace." *Pub. Admin. R.*, XIX (Autumn '59), 255-60. Exhaustive, critical review of *The Ineffective Soldier. Lessons for Management and the Nation* (N.Y.: Columbia U. Press, 1959, 3 vols., each \$6.00) by Eli Ginzberg, et al., a report on the Conservation of Human Resources Project.
- FOX, G. G. *Abraham Lincoln's Religion*. N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1959. Lincoln's character, beliefs, motivations.
- FOURASTIE, J. *The Causes of Wealth*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959 (trans. from French). Assemblage of facts in support of a theory of poverty and wealth.
- FURTH, J. H., "On United Nations Economics." *World Pol.*, XII (Jan. '60), 264-71. Cites instances in which U.N. economic writers "have made unjustified theoretical and factual assumptions which have led them to incorrect evaluations of present and probable future economic conditions," and presents contrary evidence in two cases.
- GABLE, R. W., "Culture and Administration in Iran." *Middle East J.*, XIII (Autumn '59), 407-21. Observations on Iranian individual characteristics, religion, society, etc., that have bearing on the Iranian system of administration.
- GLASER, W. A., "The Family and Voting Turnout." *Pub. Opin. Q.*, XXIII (Winter '59-'60), 563-70. According to survey data, "voting turnout tends to be a joint household activity, with the members either voting or staying home as a unit."
- HAAS, E. B., "The Comparative Study of the United Nations." *World Pol.*, XII (Jan. '60), 298-322. Evaluates the Carnegie Endowment's 17-volume series of national studies of the U.N. in the perspective of present theory of international institutions and their development.
- HALL, R. L., "Reflections on the Practical Application of Economics." *Econ. J.*, LXIX (Dec. '59), 639-52. Economic science has thus far contributed only a few very general ideas to long-term forecasting; theory must be checked empirically and made applicable to practice.
- HIGGINS, B., "Políticas de Estabilización en los Países Subdesarrollados." *El Trimestre Econ.* (Mexico), XXVI (Jan.-March '59), 103-23. Politics in underdeveloped countries.
- HOSELTZ, B. F. *Sociological Aspects of Economic Growth*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959. Hypotheses on the relations between social change and economic development.
- JAFFE, A. J. *People, Jobs, and Economic Development*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959. Analysis of underdeveloped areas in relation to aspirations of their people.
- JANIS, I. L., and C. I. HOVLAND, et al. *Personality and Persuasibility*. New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1959, \$5.00. Reports a number of empirical studies of variables affecting the readiness of the individual to change his mind; the methodologies are useful, the results sometimes less so.
- JANOWITZ, M., ed. *Community Political Systems*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959. Empirical and analytic detail of the organization and operation of politics at the local level, including comparative materials.
- KARST, K. L., "The Efficiency of the Charitable Dollar: An Unfilled State Responsibility." *Harvard Law R.*, LXXIII (Jan. '60), 433-83. The conduct of charitable trustees is often free from inspection by an interested party; a separate State administrative agency is recommended.
- KATO, H., ed. and trans. *Japanese Popular Culture: Studies in Mass Communication and Cultural Change*. Rutland, Vt.: C. E. Tuttle, 1959, \$4.75.
- KATZ, S. S., "The Federal Fiscal Year: Its Origin and Prospects." *Nat. Tax J.*, XII (Dec. '59), 346-62. The congressional appropriations dilemma that gave rise to the "fiscal year" in 1842 still has not been entirely solved.
- KEMP, A., L. W. MARTIN, and C. HARKNESS, "Some Observations on Financial Assets of the Aged and Forand-Type Legislation." *J. of Amer. Med. Assoc.*, CLXXI (Oct. 31, '59), 1228-31. Presents data that "raise some questions as to the desirability, and even the sincerity, of legislative proposals designed to compel those under 65 years of age to pay for the medical care costs of those over 65, regardless of financial status."
- KLAPP, O. E., and L. V. PADGETT, "Power Structure and Decision-Making in a Mexican Border City." *Amer. J. of Soc.*, LXV (Jan. '60), 400-06. A reputational study of the Tijuana power elite, found to be composed largely of businessmen, but poorly integrated; reminiscent of Floyd Hunter's work.

- KOYA, Y., et al., "Five Year Experiment on Family Planning Among Coal Miners in Joban, Japan." *Population Studies*, XIII (Nov. '59), 157-63. An 84% drop in crude birth rate was achieved simultaneously with a decrease in induced abortion.
- LEIGHTON, A. H. *My Name is Legion*. N.Y.: Basic Books, 1959. Psychological disorder, its possible relations with sociocultural environment, and a research proposal.
- LEONTIEF, W., "The Decline and Rise of Soviet Economic Science." *For. Affairs*, XXXVIII (Jan. '60), 261-72. After allowing economic science to remain static and sterile for some 30 years, despite its potential for aiding planning, in 1958 the Soviets developed a marked interest in bourgeois economics.
- LERNER, D., ed. *Evidence and Inference*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959. Essays on the modern theory of knowledge and its probabilistic universe.
- LIGGETT, D. R. *Small Industry Development Organizations*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959. Directory of government and non-government bodies in 78 countries that have programs assisting the development of small industry.
- LIPSET, S. M., "The Political Animal." *Pub. Opin. Q.*, XXIII (Winter '59-'60), 554-62. "Special review" of two books devoted to the understanding of political behavior, *American Voting Behavior* (E. Burdick and A. J. Brodbeck, eds.) and *Political Life: Why People Get Involved in Politics* (R. E. Lane).
- MCCORMICK, R. P., "New Perspectives on Jacksonian Politics." *Amer. Hist. R.*, LXV (Jan. '60), 288-301. Analysis of presidential election data, 1828-44, demonstrating that none of the Jackson elections involved a "mighty democratic uprising"; widespread popular participation did not take place until 1840.
- MACFIE, A. L., "Adam Smith's *Moral Sentiments* as Foundation for his *Wealth of Nations*." *Oxford Econ. Papers*, XI (Oct. '59), 209-28. "While sympathy is the essential social sentiment for Smith as for Hume . . . , for Smith sympathy is always united with reason. . . ." The *Wealth of Nations* is held to be the special economic case of this philosophy.
- MACRAE, D., JR., and D. M. KILPATRICK, "Collective Decision and Polarization in a 125-man Group." *Pub. Opin. Q.*, XXIII (Winter '59-'60), 505-14. A limited test of a hypothesis about the social divisiveness of political issues by means of panel sociometric and attitude data on a group that regularly faced a collective decision.
- MATHEWS, D. R., "The Folkways of the United States Senate: Conformity to Group Norms and Legislative Effectiveness." *Amer. Pol. Sci. R.*, LIII (Dec. '59), 1064-89. These normative rules have seldom been studied, yet "conformists" tend to be the most influential Senators; the norms apply to apprenticeship, specialization, courtesy, reciprocity, etc., and serve important functions. Specific factors influencing conformity are measured.
- MORTON, L., "*Historia Mentem Armet: Lessons of the Past*." *World Pol.*, XII (Jan. '60), 155-64. Criticizes the "self-imposed exclusion of the historian from the study of our military problems," suggests his possible, perhaps necessary contributions.
- MUHAR, P. S., "Some Requisites of Democracy." *Indian J. of Pol. Sci.*, XX (April-June '59), 163-73. Homogeneity, respect for individuality, an educated electorate, and toleration are among the requisites of democracy that are coming into existence in India.
- MYERS, C. A., "Lessons from Abroad for American Management." *J. of Business*, XXXIII (Jan. '60), 1-9. American business may be slipping back into outmoded managerial philosophies, organizational structures, labor-management relations; there may be too much emphasis on the "formal trappings" of scientific management programs.
- NOWAK, S., "Some Problems of Causal Interpretation of Statistical Relationships." *Phil. of Sci.*, XXVII (Jan. '60), 23-38. A Polish scholar proposes that "statistical relationships between traits, events, or characteristics of objects, may be logically derived from the pattern of their mutual causal connections," and applies the method to some standard techniques of social science statistical analysis.
- PADEFORD, N. J. *Politics in United Nations Elections*. Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Intl. Studies, 1959, \$75 (paper).
- PANTER-BRICK, K., "Adenauer's Victory in Munich." *Pol. Studies*, VII (Oct. '59), 246-68. Analysis of 1953 election results: influence of party activities, churches, etc.
- PAUL, J. C. N., and M. L. SCHWARTZ. *Federal Censorship*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959. Summary of legal decisions on censorship and field investigations of censorship laws in operation.
- PENNOCK, J. R., "The Political Power of British Agriculture." *Pol. Studies*, VII (Oct. '59), 291-96. Its power is found to be slight, on the basis of study of marginal agricultural constituencies.
- POGGIOLI, R., "About Soviet Culture: Or the Twilight of Poetry and Art." *Yale R.*, XLIX (Winter '60), 198-214. "The poet's pen has become a bureaucrat's quill;" the Soviet artist today has much the same function as the official artist of Russia's "imperial age," several centuries past.
- POOL, I. DE S., ed. *Trends in Content Analysis*. Urbana, Ill.: U. of Ill. Press, 1959, \$7.50. Articles on quantitative and qualitative approaches, the representational model, uses of content analysis in history, linguistics, psycho-therapy, political science, sociology, etc.

- PARSTHUS, R. V., "The Social Bases of Bureaucratic Organization." *Social Forces*, XXXVIII (Dec. '59), 103-09. The broad problems of introducing Western bureaucratic organization into non-Western cultures.
- PYE, L. W., *Armies in the Process of Political Modernization*. (\$.50; paper). *Foreign Aid, Soviet and American Styles* (\$.35; paper). *The Spirit of Burmese Politics: A Preliminary Survey of a Politics of Fear and Charisma* (\$.75; paper). Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Intl. Studies, 1959.
- REYNOLDS, P. A., "A Comment on Mr. Frankel's Article 'Towards a Decision-Making Model in Foreign Policy.'" *Pol. Studies*, VII (Oct. '59), 302-04. Further English efforts at clarifying the decision-making concept; suggests that at times intuition can serve as a better basis for foreign policy than detailed information.
- ROBERTS, B. C., "Industrial Relations in an Affluent Society." *Lloyds Bank R.*, #55 (Jan. '60), 29-40. Asks, "Could not the distribution of gains be planned in advance by a process of reasonable discussion rather than be fought about every year. . . ?"
- ROBERTS, H. V., "The New Business Statistics." *J. of Business*, XXXIII (Jan. '60), 21-30. Reviews *Probability and Statistics for Business Decisions* (R. Schlaifer, N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, '59) as a lucid account of one school of decision theory, and as an excellent exposition on the application of statistics to practice.
- SANDLER, S. G., "Lockian Ideas in Thomas Jefferson's Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom." *J. of Hist. of Ideas*, XXI (Jan.-March '60), 110-16. Expressions of five ideas as found in Locke's *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, Jefferson's notes on Locke, and Jefferson's Bill, compared side by side.
- Social Science Research on Outer Space* (External Research Report 27). Washington, D.C.: External Research Division, Dept. of State, 1959. Commentary, bibliographic listing of 156 scholarly and more popular items, under 7 headings, including "Public opinion: popular reactions to developments in outer space"; "Economics of space research and development"; "Control of outer space: legal, political and military"; "International cooperation in peaceful exploration of outer space." Many of the items are of marginal relevance. Also notes 11 research programs in progress.
- SOLOMON, H., ed. *Mathematical Thinking in the Measurement of Behavior*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959. Surveys utility theory and the uses of mathematical models in small group behavior and factor analysis.
- STEIN, M. I., and S. J. HEINZE. *Creativity*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959. Summaries of some 300 articles and books in psychology and psychiatry on the nature of the creative process.
- STEPHENSON, T. E., "The Leader-Follower Relationship." *Soc. R.*, VII (Dec. '59), 179-95. English survey of relations as seen by the follower at all levels from supervisory to higher management; the best leaders followed the pattern of democratic leadership, characterized by cooperation and flexibility.
- TINKER, H., "Authority and Community in Village India." *Pacific Affairs*, XXXII (Dec. '59), 354-75. Examines presuppositions about Indian village society in terms of somewhat contradictory historical evidence, and contrasts the ideal of "village democracy" with the actual direction of community development from above by the official and the political boss.
- WHITE, R. K., "Soviet Reactions to Our Moscow Exhibit: Voting Machines and Comment Books." *Pub. Opin. Q.*, XXIII (Winter '59-'60), 461-70. Reactions recorded by voting machines were 85% favorable, written comments were 65% favorable.
- WILLIAMS, L. E. *Overseas Chinese Nationalism*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960, \$4.50. The development of the pan-Chinese movement in Indonesia, 1900-16.
- WILLIAMS, O. P., and C. R. ADRIAN, "The Insulation of Local Politics Under the Nonpartisan Ballot." *Amer. Pol. Sci. R.*, LIII (Dec. '59), 1052-63. Partisan and nonpartisan voting patterns in four cities: the more keen the competition, the more closely does the "nonpartisan" voting pattern resemble the partisan.
- WILLSON, F. M. G., "The Routes of Entry of New Members of the British Cabinet, 1868-1958." *Pol. Studies*, VII (Oct. '59), 222-32. "In short, the orthodox career politician must nowadays be, in a parliamentary and ministerial context, more orthodox than ever if he wishes to reach the Cabinet." And declining proportions of outsiders have been entering the Cabinet.
- YANG, C. K. *The Chinese Family in the Communist Revolution*. Cambridge, Mass.: Technology Press of M.I.T. and Harvard U. Press, 1959, \$6.00.
- YANG, C. K. *A Chinese Village in Early Communist Transition*. Cambridge, Mass.: Technology Press of M.I.T. and Harvard U. Press, 1959, \$6.50.
- YOUNG, J. N., and S. C. MAYO, "Manifest and Latent Participants in a Rural Community Action Program." *Social Forces*, XXXVIII (Dec. '59), 140-45. Relationships between levels of participation in a community development program and three sets of variables: residents' social and economic characteristics, knowledge of the program, and attitudes toward it.

The SPSSI: An Action Perspective

The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI), with headquarters at the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, has about one thousand members; it is a division of the American Psychological Association, and is guided by a ten-member Council. Its 1959 president suggests its future roles in an article that first appeared in the November, 1959, issue of the SPSSI Newsletter.

One of the characteristics of the SPSSI is a tendency toward continuous organizational soul-searching. Within recent years, Council has authorized an extensive survey in an attempt to determine how it could meet more effectively the needs and desires of its members; how it could sustain and increase the interest of its present members; and how it could attract new members interested in a psychological research and action approach to contemporary social issues. This type of self-evaluation reflects a healthy growth-potential and stands in opposition to the smug self-satisfaction that retards growth. There may be a point, however, where introspective self-appraisal does not necessarily indicate health and growth but rather becomes an insidious substitute for more meaningful, dynamic, and creative action of the kind SPSSI founders sought to encourage. At this stage in its development, the SPSSI must determine whether this organizational self-evaluation is a symptom of growth or of evasion.

At the last membership meeting, held at the 1959 APA Convention in Cincinnati, the membership was provided an opportunity to name and discuss briefly the social issues with which the SPSSI should be actively concerned. Members at that meeting seemed to share Council's belief that some additional and more effective machinery must be developed to elicit a greater degree of participation from a larger portion of the membership. The tone of the meeting and the ideas that were expressed indicated that the SPSSI must become active in major social issues in order to arouse the interest and concern of its members. Such interest cannot be artificially gener-

ated or superimposed upon the members by fiat from Council but must be a genuine response to significant social problems.

Some significant social issues that might form the basis of new or intensified SPSSI activity, mentioned at the Council meeting and again at the membership meeting, were the following:

(1) *The problem of juvenile delinquency*; its causes, its social and psychological implications; the role of social psychologists in communicating to the general public the factors related to this problem and an evaluation of possible approaches to its control.

(2) *The general and specific problems of education in contemporary America*; the relationship between international problems and the cold war, and various types of demands for change in secondary and higher education in America.

(3) *The regulation, distribution, and consumption of various types of pep drugs and tranquilizers.*

(4) *The use of contraceptives in world population control*; the social, psychological, moral, religious, and economic implications of the use of contraceptives.

(5) *Problems of leisure*; the social and psychological implications of increasing leisure resulting from automation and other industrial and economic changes.

(6) *Mental health in the community*; the social and political implications of mental health problems.

(7) *The American tourist abroad*; the image of America which he presents and the effect of this image on America's international position.

(8) *Mobilization of resources for conquering space*; the psychological and educational implications of contemporary concern with outer space.

(9) *The effects of large foundations on scientific research*; the degree to which the selection of topics and the direction of scientific and scholarly knowledge are influenced by the intentional or unintentional, stated or unstated, biases and priorities of these clusters of financial power.

(10) *War and international relations, with particular emphasis on possible solutions to the cold war.*

Obviously, the fundamental problems of stimulating our membership to dynamic activity are not solved merely by enumerating provocative social issues. We must still face and solve the bedeviling problem of providing effective machinery for translating expressions of interest into appropriate research and action by individual members or groups of members. Related problems of coordination and communication may well remain the responsibility of the SPSSI Council and officers.

The work group approach to the solution of this problem has worked quite well in dealing with certain social problems, e.g., desegregation and integration. But even in cases in which the work group approach has worked well, there appear to be some inherent difficulties in this approach as a solution to the core problem of stimulating interest and activity among more SPSSI members. One of its disadvantages, which is at the same time one of its chief assets, is the fact that effective work groups are necessarily restricted to individuals in the same community. It might be desirable to explore a plan whereby many work groups concerned with the same fundamental problem could work in various parts of the country. The success of such a plan would require the development and use of some technique for effective communication and coordination of the activities of these groups.

Other means for the expansion of SPSSI activities are publications — the *Journal of Social Issues* and our future books—; our standing committees, provided the members of these committees are not always drawn from a small core of members in a given geographical area; and the *Newsletter*. Certainly the *Newsletter* can be used more effectively by our members to stimulate or explore the interests of other members, to propose and organize new work groups, and to express comments and criticisms of the SPSSI's activities or lack of activity. One need not insist that such comments always be constructive. A purely negative or "destructive" criticism may sometimes have a high stimulus value that more considered and reasoned expressions lack.

Any diagnosis of organizational ennui must include a consideration of some features of the contemporary scene that either did not exist or did not have the same weight at the time the SPSSI was organized. For one thing, it is more difficult today to distinguish the liberal from the conservative position on many important social issues. The complexity of current discussion, policy, and action on social issues such as race relations, social security, or labor management relations tends to blur the distinction between the "liberal" and other positions. We cannot say whether this reflects "creeping socialism," apathy, the triumph of moderation, the leveling effects of democracy, or the resilience of conservatism. But the fact is that there is less black-and-whiteness in ideological alignments in contemporary America—and in the light of the recent elections in Britain, elsewhere in the world. Certain political symbols, clichés, and calls to action or research may not have the same stimulus value today that they had 15 or 20 years ago. This in itself could provide an important and stimulating area of study for SPSSI members. Certainly the results of such study would be meaningful for people in the fields

of education, government, and politics.

Probably the most important fact about the current scene that the SPSSI must face is the lack of broad cultural support in contemporary America for the type of activity that the SPSSI has traditionally fostered. The future vitality of the SPSSI, its ability to make any significant contribution to the understanding or solution of present social problems, will depend largely, if not exclusively, upon the degree of inner motivation and concern of the individual members themselves. A paradox of our time, which some describe as a period of conformity or "togetherness," is the fact that responsibility for social pro-

gress seems increasingly a burden that individuals must assume. The question that then remains for the SPSSI and similar groups in our society is how the group can provide the individual with the type of milieu that supports and stimulates his quest for truth, his search for an effective form of social justice, and his general concern for humanity. The individual, even in an ideal group situation, must still assume the initiative and risks if these personal and organizational goals are to be approached.

Kenneth B. Clark

President, SPSSI

Two Critical Comments

One of PROD's readers takes issue with Peter Rohn's somewhat negative conclusions on "Testing Deutsch's Indices of Community" (PROD, III [September, 1959], pp. 7-9). Another expresses pleased surprise at the appearance of Frank Freidel's "Research on Roosevelt" (III [January, 1960], pp. 11-12) in a journal that assumes the "stance and speech of science."

ON DEUTSCH'S INDICES OF COMMUNITY

In the September, 1959, issue of PROD, Peter Rohn reported on an attempt at "Testing Deutsch's Indices of Community," which led him to conclude "that Deutsch's method is crude. Followed literally, it quickly reveals its defects. But as a frame of reference within which less ambitious and more precise methods may develop, it is now probably the single most fertile book in its field."

Like Professor Rohn I have just used the same book (Karl W. Deutsch, *et al.*, *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area*, Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1957) as one of the theoretical bases for a graduate seminar; but I must register a vigorous dissent from his conclusions. The book is indeed fertile in ideas, but the method is not nearly as crude as Rohn's application of it would suggest. Rohn assumes that, "If Deutsch's indices are objective they

must (1) also apply to countries outside the North Atlantic area; (2) be quantifiable; and (3) correspond to common knowledge." With the first demand there can be no quarrel—and my own experience is that, as working hypotheses, Deutsch's generalizations prove extremely fruitful in the study of non-Western areas. Quantifiability, on the other hand, surely is a requirement of precision rather than of objectivity—and Rohn's presentation is a vivid reminder that such precision is at times bought at the cost of lessened relevance. The third demand is unreasonable. If we expected scientific research merely to confirm, rather than to extend or correct, common knowledge, we could well save ourselves the trouble and expense. If the application of a new hypothesis contradicts common sense, this indicates a need for reexamining either or both; it does not disconfirm the hypothesis.

Rohn correctly notes that one of the sequels to Deutsch's work (R.E. Lindgren, *Sweden-Norway*, Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1959) does not apply the same method; but he has overlooked another important study by one of the co-authors (R. A. Kann, *The Hapsburg Empire*, New York: 1957) which does apply and elaborate the same set of hypotheses. Rohn's reading of the collective work itself, moreover, seems to have been less than "literal." Deutsch deals with two types of process, which he calls "integration" and "amalgamation" (and also with the reverse processes). The first results in a "pluralistic security community," such as Norway and Sweden today — *i.e.*, lasting peace between distinct states. The second, if combined with integration, results in an "amalgamated security community," such as the United States today — *i.e.*, peaceful relations under a single government. The most suggestive material in the book deals with the latter process. Rohn, by contrast, takes up "integration" only, and treats it as a static phenomenon rather than as a dynamic process. These are the roots of most of his difficulties.

For example, the concepts of "superior economic growth," "broadening of elites," and "core area," which Rohn found it hard to apply as criteria for the *existence* of a *pluralistic* security community, are presented by Deutsch

largely as conditions for the *development* of an *amalgamated* security community. In complaining that Deutsch does not weight his indices, Rohn overlooks that of the ten conditions which Rohn attempts to quantify, Deutsch clearly (pp. 123, 133) identifies the first two as "essential," and the other eight as merely "helpful" for the formation of *pluralistic* security communities. To make matters worse, Rohn despairs of quantifying one of these two "essential" indices, thus further removing the arithmetic test from the theory.

In view of these shortcomings, the outcome of Rohn's experiment is all the more striking. As he tabulates the nine indices he has devised on the basis of Deutsch's conditions, and proceeds to average them for U.S. relations with six countries, these latter emerge in a rank order and in three groups closely corresponding to "common knowledge" about the strength or weakness of our peaceful relations with them: Canada (6.7); Mexico (4.4), United Kingdom (4.1); Yugoslavia (2.2), India (2.1), U.S.S.R. (2.0). Clearly, despite all the distortions and misunderstandings, the theory, on Professor Rohn's own showing, passes the test with flying colors.

Dankwart A. Rustow

School of International Affairs
Columbia University

ON FREIDEL'S "RESEARCH ON ROOSEVELT"

I read, with considerable interest, Frank R. Freidel's note concerning research on Roosevelt in the January, 1960, issue of *PROD*. My interest was engendered first by the fact that in some of my own research work on the Supreme Court and several individual justices I have had to rely almost exclusively on the older methods of historical research, because the use of some sophisticated quantitative techniques would have been useless, and secondly by surprise that

Freidel's statement appeared in *PROD*, since some recent issues are likely to make those who still must rely on the older methods of the historical researcher or biographer feel that they belong in the Stone Age rather than in the enlightened, scientific twentieth century.

I suspect that many readers of *PROD* are appalled by some of its jargon but doggedly hang on with the thought that "maybe there is something here that I do not understand after all, which may

be applicable to my own work." This feeling is reinforced by the fact that PROD undoubtedly has the "stance and speech of science. Its serious numerical look inspires worship and causes despair." (Phrases borrowed from Jacques Barzun, *The House of Intellect*, 1959, p. 220. Barzun used these words in partial support of his thesis that contemporary pedantry is derived largely from natural science.)

Of course, PROD performs an important function in circulating ideas about new techniques of research, because even those who must use the more mundane methods, because of the nature of their interest, are always searching for new ways to view their subject-matter. Nevertheless, it is pleasant and refreshing to read an article in PROD about some of the problems of the "tried and true methods of the historical researcher," since too many view his work as a dull, deadly occupation or feel that the traditional methods of research are no longer very useful. The fact of the matter is that such work can be exciting beyond belief and that quantitative measurement in this area can, at best, only supplement qualitative insight. Even though it may be necessary to plow through innumerable insignificant letters, notes, memoranda, clippings, and so forth during an entire day, the finding of one or two items (gems) during that period is well worth the effort for the serious scholar. In addition, searches through various manuscript collections serve to enrich one's teaching as well as research. For example, the papers of Chief Justice Waite, recently deposited in the Library of Congress, help one to arrive at a better understanding of Waite's relationship with other justices and with the internal operation of the Court during a period when the highest tribunal profoundly affected the social and economic development of the United

States. A systematic search of Waite's papers provides new insights into judicial behavior and the attitudes of segments of the American public toward the Court during an important period in our history. In such a search one also gleans odd, seemingly useless bits of information that are instructive in their own way. Consider, for example, these items:

(1) On January 15, 1887, a State normal school history teacher wrote to Waite:

If a person had taken religious vows which shut her off from the world, such as those taken by a nun, and should change her mind and desire to mingle again with the world, could she secure her liberty by the use of a writ of habeas corpus? If you will kindly answer briefly in your own handwriting, giving a summary of reasons, you will very greatly oblige us.

(2) A letter received by Waite on August 1, 1887, from a citizen of Lynchburg, Virginia, read as follows:

It is a common thing to hear your high court damned in this city by men clothed with a little local authority. Your court should take such steps as would guarantee protection to the humblest citizen when engaged in commerce between the states.

Chief Justice Waite's papers make important contributions to an understanding of many specific aspects of judicial decision-making and of American government in general. In the last analysis, political life—which, of course, constitutes only a particular aspect of life—is composed of qualitative nuances. There is no doubt that results of acts and decisions can sometimes be measured, but their substance can only be surmised.

R. J. Tresolini

Department of Political Science
Lehigh University



BOOKS

*Just out — a penetrating analysis
of the power problem of the man inside the White House*

PRESIDENTIAL POWER

The Political Power of Leadership

By Richard E. Neustadt, *Columbia University*. When we inaugurate a President of the United States, we give a man the powers of our highest public office. From the moment he is sworn the man confronts a personal problem—how to make these powers work for *him*. That problem is the subject of this book. The theme is personal power and its politics—what it is, how to get it, how to keep it, how to use it. The author is concerned with what the President himself can do to safeguard and enhance his personal influence in government. Every major step in the analysis is illustrated with cases from the record of recent Administrations, mainly Truman's and Eisenhower's. The book concludes that an understanding of the problem of protecting personal influence is the province of experienced politicians who happen, also, to have an extraordinary temperamental capacity for governing. 1960. Approx. 224 pages. Prob. \$5.95.

*Coming in June — a comprehensive treatment
of what leads the American voter to his decision at the polls*

THE AMERICAN VOTER

By Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, *all of the University of Michigan*. This book employs the most rigorous techniques of opinion sampling to illuminate critical problems of political and social theory. The authors begin with the voting act itself and with the immediate psychological forces on this act. They then consider the political causes shaping these forces by examining the nature of party loyalties and the influence of political history and institutions. After viewing these and other influences on the vote, such as economic attitudes and events, basic personality traits, and movements of populations, the authors propose a broad classification of presidential elections and examine some effects of American electoral behavior on our political system. Ready in June. Approx. 608 pages. Prob. \$8.50.

Send for examination copies.

JOHN WILEY & SONS, Inc.

440 Park Avenue South

New York 16, N. Y.

A Pluralist Approach to Research Support

(AN EDITORIAL)

Who threatens good and free research? In this issue of *PROD*, a Civil Liberties Union subcommittee warns of business and the federal government. We look back in history and say, "Everyone in sight, including the academicians themselves." Deans and Presidents are primordial enemies of scholarly independence. But abstract principle needs more distance; so the theory of academic freedom was scared from professorial throats by "outside" rulers of universities—by kings, clerics, and powerful boards. Legislatures, first State and now federal too, succumbed to royal powers. And today we must contend with modern business corporations and foundations.

Questions of power are tied to problems of support. It is further stated that research is either under-financed or over-financed, and in either case is a victim of misallocation of resources.

We share these beliefs in their *general form*: many good sectors of study are starved; many are pampered; and to errors of judgment are added the unbalances caused by lack of plan, whether by the "invisible hand" or the "iron fist." We emphasize, however, "in their general form." That is, a lot of nonsense is being spoken on the essential wickedness of one or another agency of society. To oppose foundations for interfering in university business assumes that universities ought to be sealed containers or that university administrators are ordinarily righteous and brilliant but weak, both patent absurdities. There is no question that government agencies of all types are aiding education and research, imposing restrictions, influencing priorities, and otherwise disturbing a certain previously existing equilibrium: of what value to indict this relationship in itself? As for business corporations (and labor unions), they interfere too much or too little. They usually specify highly applied projects, or give grants, as foundations do, "to keep the ball rolling." They should think more about what they want their money to do. (They would learn more, too, and giving as well as receiving should be educative.)

We are convinced that education and research will gain if all elements of the community assist and criticize their enterprises. We say that educators forget too readily the degree to which their work is hampered by their own university. They readily fall victim to the vacuity at the bottom of the doctrine of academic freedom. They still display the worn-out socialist (and pre-capitalistic) bigotry that business is by nature corrupt.

We assert furthermore that research and education need support from all sides. If commercial corporations, non-profit agencies such as unions and welfare groups, foundations, local, State, federal, and international governments, and wealthy and energetic individuals want somehow to give and receive from the institutions of education, they should be obliged. A relation with one of them alone would be disastrous. Their variety, number, and counterbalancing forces compose society's structural support of education. Together they give us a valid possibility of freedom through pluralism where this may matter most — in the building of men, ideas, and knowledge. How well the particular bargains over control and content are struck, and how much the plural forces and the community of knowledge receive from each other, are a measure of the worth of university administrators and scholars. Inasmuch as we presume to teach others the ability to choose and reject, we should welcome the challenge to do likewise ourselves.



ON THE COVER: On *PROD'S* front cover, Professor Harold Lasswell observes and participates in a group of Peruvians. His visit to Peru took place in Summer, 1958, in conjunction with Cornell University's Carnegie-supported, five-year program of training and research in the Andean area. Research on political behavior, economic development, social psychology, comparative administration, and demography in Peru, Chile, Bolivia, Columbia, and possibly Ecuador is planned under the program. The photograph was taken by John Collier, Jr., presently of the California School of Fine Arts in San Francisco.

The precocious field researcher above is Lisa Lystad, who, in February, 1958, at the age of two and a half, was busily "interviewing" members of her peer group in a village outside Accra, Ghana. She was assisted by her father, Professor Robert A. Lystad of the Department of Anthropology, Tulane University, who was taking part in the Carnegie-supported program of research on the development of democratic government in West Africa; he also took the photograph. We are fascinated by this casual illustration of the profound principle of social heredity.

Both photographs originally appeared in the Carnegie Corporation's *Annual Report 1959*, between pp. 24 and 25.